The Rosenberg Case: these are the facts

IN THE DEATH HOUSE at Sing Sing prison, two young Americans—Ethel and Julius Rosenberg—await the outcome of their appeal in October against sentences to die in the electric chair.

Death was the penalty—unprecedented in civil courts—the trial judge pronounced after they were found guilty of entering into a conspiracy during World War II, when the U.S.S.R. was our ally, to deliver atom secrets to that country.

After careful analysis of the entire trial record, the GUARDIAN contends:

- That the very best that can be said for the government case against the Rosenbergs is that it leaves such reasonable doubt as to entitle them, by all American legal standards, to acquittal;
- That there are strong grounds for suspecting they are victims of an out-an-out political frame-up, in a period of build-up for war when victims are needed by the government to silence the opposition at any cost to the United States Constitution.

With the article on p. 3—first of a series—we begin laying before GUARDIAN readers the facts of the Rosenberg case as revealed by the trial record and the investigations of reporter William A. Reuben.

As in the case of the Trenton Six, which Reuben brought to light for the first time nearly three years ago in the GUARDIAN, we believe that full knowledge of the Rosenberg Case can bring vindication for these Americans and restore them to their children. It can help bring to an end, as well, the savage attack on the civil and constitutional rights of citizens now being made by our government.

THE conviction and sentencing to death of the Rosenbergs appears to conflict with the constitutional safeguards against civil and inhuman punishment. Even assuming that the sentence may technically come within the constitutional power, it nevertheless appears cruel and inhuman to the point of barbarity.

> **Far more important for the German government than that the guilty incendiary should expiate his crime was the securing of a legal pronouncement in favor of the alleged complicity in the fire of their most feared and hated political opponents, the Communist Party of Germany. . . . The terror, the persecution and attempted political and economic annihilation of the Jews, the working-class movement, and the progressive thinkers of Germany, thus received some shadow of apparent legal justification.**
>
> *—D. N. Pritt, K.C., noted British lawyer, on the Reichstag Fire Trial frame-up which was used to terrorize and silence the opposition on the eve of Nazi power.*

The Rosenbergs have from the start maintained their complete innocence of any knowledge or part of the plot of which they are accused.

Two individuals produced as witnesses to their alleged "overt acts" were confessed spies, whose testimony was flimsy, rehearsed and entirely unsupported by documentary evidence. The testimony brought death sentences to the Rosenbergs but won a lightened sentence for one of their accusers, immunity from prosecution for the other.

The Rosenberg Case reeks of frame-up. That the government should have connived in demanding death sentences for these two particular individuals, while consenting to freedom and clemency for confessed participants in the same alleged plot, leads to the conclusion that there was a special, political objective in making a supreme example of the Rosenbergs, because of their left-wing politics.

IN police parlance the "atomic plot" involved was a "closed case" before the Rosenbergs were brought into it. All the accused participants had confessed. The chief one, Dr. Klaus Emil Julius Fuchs, British-employed German scientist stationed at Los Alamos project during the war, was already serving time in England (and still works for the British government).

His motive, Fuchs said, was misdirected idealism. Three of his four confessed accomplices in America had no political idealism, only a cash motive; the fourth, Harry Gold, was an anti-left-wing adventurer. A Soviet consular official accused in the case had returned home before the FBI even got wind of the alleged plot to deliver secrets to the U.S.S.R.

Thus the government was deprived of a political culprit in the plot; and the case was on the point of being quietly and unsensationally concluded when the Rosenbergs were suddenly brought into it.

THIS IS THEIR STORY *(please turn to p. 3).*

NATIONAL GUARDIAN

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Ethel and Julius Rosenberg: the trap closes
Is this the Dreyfus Case of cold-war America?

WAR & PEACE Soviet 'cooing' called 'dangerous'; U.S. replies in balloons

DAVID SARNOFF, chairman of the Radio Corp. of America, said on returning from Europe last week that the Voice of America was losing the propaganda war. Rep. John T. Wood (R-Ida.) had an idea. He urged in Congress that Voice scripts be approved in advance by "a committee of members of the Daughters of the American Revolution."

In Munich, Germany, balloons were going up. Radio Free Europe, "private" supplement of the Voice run by the big-money Crusade for Freedom, one early dawn launched 2,000 of them containing 2,000,000 "messages of hope" to Czech "victims of tyranny" behind the "Iron Curtain." Victims were urged to listen to voices of freedom, including Radio Madrid.

Harold Stassen, chairman of Radio Free Europe's 1951 drive, commented: "The first thing to do is show them that we do care about them." Washington showed its concern by restoring high tariff duties on all trade with East Europe, in violation of trade agreements; by forbidding Czech national airline flights over West Germany; in a 231-1 Congress voté to end all commercial relations with Czechoslovakia until **AP** correspondent Oatis, confessed U.S. spy, is released.

De Groene, Amsterdam

Dean Quixote and Franco Panza.

"ABJECT" OR "FREE & HAPPY?" Also in Munich last week Alexander Kerensky, premier of Russia's provisional government set up and overthrown in 1917, sought to rally Russian emigres who hope to overthrow the Soviet government. Kerensky had a U.S. visa for the mission and Washington's unofficial backing (the Central Intelligence Agency has a secret fund for such activities), but ran into quick trouble when "Ukrainian resistance leaders" **(AP)** refused to cooperate with "imperialist" Russians.

Soviet peace moves caused Woodrow Wyatt of the British War Office to complain: "We are running into a very dangerous period. The Russians are beginning to coo like sucking doves." The N.Y. **Times** (which has an efficient Moscow correspondent, Harrison Salisbury) featured home-written articles on the "abject poverty" of the "fear-ridden Soviet masses," but like other U.S. papers failed to mention the report of the seven-member British Quaker delegation just back from the U.S.S.R. One of the seven, Margaret Backhouse, said in London:

> **"I was expecting to find people somewhat nervous as one knows people were under the Nazi regime. I expected them to be looking around to see who was listening. That's not at all the case. They gave me the feeling of being very free, happy people. They go about the streets with considerable dignity and they are full of humor. We seemed to speak the same language and I don't think a single interview took place without a laugh or joke."**

ATOMIZATIONS: The Alsop brothers fretted in their column because basic U.S. strategy—"our willingness to use atomic bombs against the largest Russian population centers to cause enormous civilization casualties"—while "wholly correct," nonetheless "precludes that alliance with the Russian people which such Soviet experts as George Kennan consider the real key to victory." Insufficiently scared New Yorkers, meanwhile, were told to expect a "realistic atomic air raid test" at some secret date in November. Mayor Impellitteri said:

> **"No one will have any way of telling whether it is a real attack or just a test."**

Grim realities behind what might seem an era of remarkable nonsense peeped out. For example, Ray Borst, only U.S. newsman to accompany N.Y. Governor Dewey on his Far East tour, described (Buffalo **Evening News**, Aug. 10) the methods by which the French combat guerrillas in Indo-China:

> **After a grenade has been thrown, French soldiers capture a Red or a Communist sympathtizer — it makes no difference whether he had anything to do with the incident—bring him into the city and slit his stomach. A grenade is inserted into the unfortunate man's stomach with the chain hanging out. Then he is taken outside the city, sometimes to the square of a small village, strung up to a tree and the grenade exploded, blowing him to pieces.**

Dewey had high praise for French suppression techniques in their colony.

THE "WHITE MAN'S TREATY": Washington was dismayed when the Soviet Union (followed by Poland) accepted its invitation to the September conference in San Francisco on the Japanese peace treaty. Said the N.Y. **Times:** "It dashed American hopes for a brief, harmonious session." The Alsops wrote:

> **Responsible officials are a great deal more worried by the Soviet decision . . . than they are admitting publicly. . . . They fear that this time the Kremlin might actually succeed . . . [in isolating] the U.S. from its allies. . . . [The treaty] is already being denounced and not only in the Kremlin as a "white man's treaty." There is**

(Continued on Page 4)

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Vol. 3, No. 44 — AUGUST 22, 1951

THE MAIL BAG

Fair exchange

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.

This is practically my last dollar. But since your paper is the last word in good reporting, I feel it is worth it. Mrs. Ruth C. Dennis

Forgotten Commandments

STEUBENVILLE, OHIO

I am wondering if other people think as I do in respect to our Bible teachings—and as we actually live today. God gave us this land of plenty and a set of good rules to go by. "Thou Shalt Not Kill!" But our boys are told to kill all the people they can and in the end they are given a shiny medal that indicates "Hero." What kind of salve can they give that same hero for his conscience?

"Thou shalt not covet anything that is thy neighbor's"—I wonder if our neighbor's (Korea's) tungsten and other valuable minerals could be the cause of our deep concern for our neighbor.

Surely our God doesn't approve of dropping Atom and Hydrogen bombs on His earth. We have nothing but squatter's rights or the use of His belongings while we are here, and the sooner the Brass realizes this the better off every one will be. Mrs. Floyd Wells

That was his week off

BLOOMFIELD, CONN.

If I were a wise political leader, I would simply say "Stalin did it." Since I'm not, you tell me, who did it? Who put that "un" before "constitutional" in my letter published June 27?

Here's my contribution in memory of the Preamble to the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights, maimed and buried—but not forever—by the Hitlerites now in control of our government. Fred M. Mansur

Stalin didn't do it this time—just our office gremlin. (Reader Mansur's justifiable beef concerns his reference to six Supreme Court Justices having declared the Smith Act constitutional.) Ed.

The only way

COHASSET, MASS.

The only way to end wars, depression, unemployment and poverty is that the power of control in our economic life must be transferred from the small groups to the greater mass of the people to whom it properly belongs. Autocracy in our economic life must end; the material resources, machinery and money must be socialized.

You should tell the readers that capital is nothing else but stolen work. Paul D. Zanny

Memo to J. Edgar Chiang

ST. LOUIS, MO.

In China there was a bounty paid on Communists' heads. I don't know what they paid as I never delivered any heads but we went over and helped the head-hunters by furnishing equipment for them. I guess if they start a bounty here it would be one way to give a few more people work. A Friend

4 letters missing

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Harvey Clark, victim of a racist mob which stoned and fired the apartment house into which his family was to move, is quoted as saying that Communists were behind the attack. To put the record straight, he was half-right: ANTI-communists were behind it.

Uriah Genermac

Check YOUR library

KANSAS CITY, MO.

In my local library I found that the GUARDIAN had stopped coming a month or so before; the librarian said she herself had read it regularly and so had a lot of the junior college youth. Why hadn't the library renewed? No one seemed to have the courage to stick his neck out, but the truth had been getting to a lot of people.

I submit that, unless they state they don't want it, we should keep sending the GUARDIAN to libraries (public, university, etc.). It should be in every large city library (over 100,000 pop.) in the country. Isn't it false ceonomy to cut off the one large mass outlet we have, just because $2 for a year's sub doesn't happen to show up? There are six libraries here that should get the GUARDIAN at all times, and they all have been so doing until just recently. I will pledge myself to raise the money in the near future but send the paper to these libraries immediately, please!

H. E. B., Jr.

H. E. B. has given the right answer to his own question. It's not "false economy" but U.S. postal regulations that rule out sending papers which have not been paid for to libraries or anyone else. Readers who will raise money for library subs will be doing us all a great service. Important: the permission of any library for which a sub is donated MUST be asked. Ed.

Tungsten war

SHREVEPORT, LA.

The fact has been well suppressed that the war in Asia is a war for natural resources. The great remaining natural resources are in Eurasia. Europe is worn out. U.S.A. is wasting hers. The ultimate centers of civilization will be where the natural resources are. This is a Tungsten war as the Boer war was a gold and diamond war.

Edward Wilkinson

Dear John L.

WINTHROP, MASS.

I have sent this letter today (Aug. 15) to John L. Lewis, United Mine Workers Bldg., Washington, D. C.:

"Many of my friends and myself have been giving serious thought to the '52 Presidential election. We are unanimous in our decision that we want no part of the broken-down, corrupt, pro-war, anti-labor, anti-human welfare, double-dealing Democrats or Republicans who are today being put forth as possibilities. We can't possibly remain an American democracy as Jefferson envisiaged or FDR brought us — if we are given a choice of a Truman or a Taft, an Eisenhower or a MacArthur, a Tweedledum or a Tweedledee.

We (the PEOPLE) must have a second choice, we must have a representative of the PEOPLE—and we have decided that person could be YOU!

I know that I'm writing in the interests of several hundreds here in Boston, and I feel sure there are many millions who would relish an opportunity to cast votes for a better America, for peace, for labor, for a united world—and for John L. Lewis. After reading your speech at the recent Local 600 anniversary we are convinced that you are the logical choice.

Our country is in a critical state and the PEOPLE NEED YOU, Mr. Lewis! Please let us hear from you soon. Leo Rabinowitz

For President

PHOENIX, ARIZ.

Vito Marcantonio should be the Progressive Party's candidate for President. P. G. O.

Wall Street Journal

"We'll keep your job for you, Marston. It isn't worth filling."

God hides his eyes

MARSHALL, MO.

I was amused when a member of the Assembly of God church told me her minister said: "We are fighting in Korea for the right to worship Christ. MacArthur is a godly man and always prayed before going into battle."

I told her to read 1st chapter, 15th verse of Isaiah. . . . Well, if these people go to heaven, I want to go to hell because I don't want to go where they go.

I enjoy the GUARDIAN so much. Those old capitalistic papers print lies that would make one fight his grandmother. (Mrs.) Lois Jones

The Isaiah text: "And when ye spread forth your hands, I will hide mine eyes from you: yea, when ye make many prayers, I will not hear: your hands are full of blood." Ed.

Wanted—more cheating

RANSOMVILLE, N. C.

The fact that 90 West Point cadets can be expelled for cheating on examinations points up a ridiculous inconsistency in American morality. These boys were being trained by our national government to destroy human life and property, to commit wholesale murder. They were being trained to commit a major crime which the barbarous morality of our nation takes great pains to exonerate.

Compared to the crime of a nation in teaching its youths to kill, cheating on examinations is a petty offense indeed. The more cheating we have in the practice of the art of destroying human life and property the better. Indeed, what the world needs more than anything else is universal and 100% cheating in the profession of killing—then all humanity can live.

Vernon Ward

A use for old dishes

LONG BEACH, CALIF.

About two months ago I sent $10 for five subs. My sister and I each have a small bank into which we put all we can spare and when a call comes from the GUARDIAN for help, we open our banks. In this case, we had $10 to send.

Now we have almost that amount again from the sale of old dishes and trinkets, which we decided to part with as the money, tho small, would be more good in the promotion of peace than they would do just lying around the house.

Everyone should gather up his old, but not used things and make them do some work for good. We need peace more than old dishes and bric-a-brac. Cleaner-Upper

Backbone

SYRACUSE, N. Y.

Please find enclosed $10. My sub. is due for renewal at the end of this month. Keep the money left out of this bill. You and your paper have got the real courage of America. The newspapers are few indeed that have the backbone to print news the way it should be and not be scared to death to put the blame where it belongs.

W. Matthews

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NATIONAL GUARDIAN 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y.

PP STATEMENT ON '52 ELECTIONS

Peace Candidates guaranteed

The following was the resolution adopted on Aug. 18 by the National Committee of the Progressive Party meeting in Minneapolis:

IN the 1952 national election, the American people can exert a decisive influence for peace, provided they are given an opportunity to vote for a Presidential candidate who stands for a policy of peace. The Progressive Party guarantees that they **shall** have that opportunity.

A year ago the Progressive Party stood almost alone in its opposition to American armed intervention in Korea. Today the people overwhelmingly want an end to that slaughter. While this year has seen a sharpening of the war danger, mounting armaments and war preparations, it has also witnessed a rising revulsion, particularly among the workers, farmers and the Negro people, against the senseless adventure in Korea, the growing economic hardships of high prices and higher taxes imposed by the war program, the ruthless suppression of civil liberties, the abandonment of civil rights legislation and the desertion of the people's welfare.

Despite the misleaders of labor and farmers, the people are finding their own ways for expressing their opposition to the war program and its effects. Coupled with the world-wide pressure for peace, it has forced the United States to enter cease-fire negotiations and can lead not only to an end of hostilities but to further steps toward negotiating real peace.

BUT the sentiment for peace, for civil liberties, for equal rights for the Negro people and for a welfare economy can be effective only if given political expression.

Ever wider groups realize that no hope lies in either the Republican or Democratic parties, as the Progressive Party has consistently pointed out since 1948. The two old parties stand committed more deeply than ever to a war economy, to the maintenance of huge armaments, to betrayal of Negro rights and destructure of civil liberties, to rule by monopolists and militarists through fear and hysteria. Their policies bring closer the twin disasters of depression and war. The Progressive Party is therefore determined that in 1952 there shall be a peace candidate at every level of office, including the office of President, to give full expression to the sentiments for peace of the American people and their growing struggle against the consequences of a war economy to their standards of living and their liberties.

To assure achievement of that objective, we shall at once strengthen our party organizations and take all necessary steps to prepare to run Progressive Party candidates for President and Vice President. At the same time, because we believe the character of the Presidential peace candidate and the ticket on which he runs should reflect that full breadth of the peace forces of the country, we shall continue to work for and do everything in our power to bring about organization of an independent ticket, supported by a coalition of all groups and individuals who stand for a genuine policy of peace.

WE suggest the following minimum program as the basis for such a coalition ticket:

(1) An end to the war in Korea; U.S. initiative for good faith negotiations among the five great powers for peaceful settlement of outstanding differences.

(2) A return to a peacetime economy; a deep cut in armaments spending; genuine price and profit controls; an end to the wage freeze and an adequate welfare budget.

(3) An end to discrimination against the Negro people, with full legislative guarantees of civil rights.

(4) An end to McCarthyism, McCarranism, McGrathism and Taft-Hartleyism; repeal of the Smith Act and return to the Bill of Rights.

While we shall make every effort to assist in the organization of an independent ticket based on a minimum program of this character, we state flatly that if the conditions for such a ticket do not mature, the Progressive Party will nominate its own candidates for President and Vice President in ample time to assure them a place on the ballot in 1952.

We recognize the profound relation between the just demand of the Negro people for representation at every level of office and the fight for peace. We shall continue and intensify our policy, either through coalitions or alone, of assuring representatives of the Negro people a place on the ballot.

TO carry forward this program and these objectives for 1952, the National Committee of the Progressive Party is today [Aug. 19, 1951] appointing two committees:

ONE, a Presidential Campaign Committee to plan for our National Nominating Convention and Platform, and to work out all possible plans for encouraging the growth and development of an independent peace ticket.

SECOND, a Congressional Campaign Committee to work with the state organizations of the Progressive Party in selecting and supporting candidates for Congress, building independent congressional slates, or supporting, on their merits, such members of other parties who will carry forward the program for peace.

To effectuate this program, we are directing the National Office to call regional conferences throughout the country to strengthen and revitalize Progressive Party organizations, to prepare and make sure that the Progressive Party is on the ballot in every state.

THE ROSENBERG CASE

Did the FBI buy political scapegoats with mercy for a spy?

By William A. Reuben
GUARDIAN special reporter

UNTIL they found themselves under arrest last summer, charged with atomic spying, Ethel and Julius Rosenberg were probably very like thousands of young New York couples.

Julius was a good student, a product of New York public schools and high schools during the Depression years. He managed to get into the College of the City of New York (CCNY) and to earn a degree in electrical engineering.

A few months after his graduation, in 1939, he married Ethel Greenglass, a government secretary who had studied piano and voice. Ethel had a job with the Census Bureau in Washington and the couple went there to live for a short time. But Julius soon got a job as junior engineer with the U.S. Signal Corps in New York, and Ethel quit her Washington job to join him. They were very deeply in love.

After living with in-laws and in furnished rooms for a time, they found an apartment in Knickerbocker Village housing project in 1942. As soon as they were settled they had their first baby—a boy, now aged 8.

THE LIFE THEY LIVED: Like a host of other young folks growing up in the Roosevelt years, they were outspoken left-wing New Dealers. In 1941, like some 50,000 other New Yorkers, Ethel signed a nominating petition for Peter Cacchione, successful Communist candidate for N.Y. City Council. The Rosenbergs took out $5,000 low-cost insurance with the Intl. Workers Order, read the **Daily Worker** and the **Herald Tribune** (sometimes one, sometimes both), were active in their unions—Ethel in Local 65 of the Wholesale and Warehouse Workers, Julius in the Fedn. of Architects, Engineers, Chemists & Technicians, both then CIO.

Their 3½-room apartment originally cost them $45.75 a month, not counting gas bills and telephone; their furniture was mostly borrowed or hand-me-down. Neither spent much on clothes. Most everything went for the baby. But in 1944 or thereabout, they spent $21 on a fancy console table in a Macy's close-out sale, and got a "break-front" from someone who didn't want it by simply paying delivery costs. They picked up a battered piano, too, so Ethel could keep up her music. She kept up her typing doing Civilian Defense reports and odds and ends for the women's auxiliary of Julius' union.

Julius had a cheap camera, took snapshots in the park, tried home developing but not too successfully. When the second baby came they splurged from time to time on studio portraits, to have a history of the family growing up.

COLLEGE FRIENDS: Julius lost track of his CCNY friends for the most part. He ran into two of them, Morton Sobell and Max Elitcher, at a swimming pool in Washington, D.C., when he was assigned to the Bureau of Standards in 1940. In 1944, on a Signal Corps assignment, he visited Elitcher again but couldn't locate Sobell this time. In 1945 he lost his Signal Corps job on charges of Communist Party affiliation (which he denied, but to no effect). He then went to Washington again to see his Congressman to try and get a clearance; he again visited the Elitchers, rode around Washington with them trying to locate the Congressman and some union people, then went home.

Sobell dropped in on the Rosenbergs in New York a year later, and thereafter the Sobells and the Rosenbergs visited each other a couple of times until Sobell took a job in Schenectady.

DAVID & ETHEL: When Julius lost his Signal Corps job he landed with Emerson Radio at $77 a week, but overtime provided a hike in pay over the

DAVID AND RUTH GREENGLASS
They told a different story (see GUARDIAN next week)

government job. He was laid off toward the end of 1945. Thereupon he and one of Ethel's brothers went into the surplus business with another fellow. When Ethel's other brother, David Greenglass, got out of the Army in 1946, they took him into the partnership and changed the name to the G. & R. Engineering Co. In '47 they reorganized the firm, took in a $15,000 investor, David Schein, and became the Pitt Machine Products Co. Inc.

David Greenglass, as the "baby" of the family, was a special favorite of his sister Ethel. David's wife, Ruth, was friendly with the Rosenbergs too. When the couples got together, they talked about the war among other things, Julius being a staunch advocate of a second front. When David went off to an army camp, Ethel wrote the family letters to him for their mother, who couldn't write English well.

DAVID IN TROUBLE: One day in 1944, while David was stationed in New Mexico, Ruth called Julius and asked him to visit her where she was living with her sister. She whispered to Julius to get her sister-in-law to leave the room, then told him she was worried about David. He had some idea of stealing something from the Army and selling it, she said. Julius told her to advise David to steer clear of that sort of thing and to stay out of trouble. Julius thought at the time it was some sort of black-market business, and told Ethel about it when he got home.

When David came back from service the two men never discussed this affair; Julius didn't know whether Ruth had told David about telling him of it. By then, of course, Julius knew that David had been assigned to the atomic project in Los Alamos as a machinist, but did not connect the two circumstances.

THE SPLIT: As partners in the business, the personal relations of David and Julius worsened with its declining fortunes. Julius found fault with David for not devoting more time to it, and Ruth complained that Julius treated her husband "more like a worker than a partner." The upshot was that in 1949 David pulled out as a partner and Julius agreed to pay him $1,000 after some other obligations of the firm had been met.

From then on they were scarcely on speaking terms; the $1,000 went unpaid; David and Ruth kept trying to collect it, but Julius didn't have it. (Finally the Greenglasses instructed their lawyer to bring suit for the money.) Once David even aimed a punch at Julius. After that the couples avoided one another except at family gatherings.

In the middle of May, 1950, David came to the Pitt Machine Shop and told Julius he had to talk to him privately. The two men went across the street to Hamilton Fish Park. There, in a very excited and agitated condition, David asked Julius for $2,000. Julius told David he didn't have that kind of money and had no way of getting it. He pointed out further that he owed David only $1,000. David then asked Julius to try to get him a certificate for a small-pox vaccination and to find out the type of injections needed to enter Mexico. Julius wondered if David was in some kind of trouble, but David refused to discuss his reasons for needing the money or the certificate.

"HELP DAVEY": During the talk David had become very agitated and that night Julius told Ethel, about the incident. Both of them recalled the conversation in 1945 with Ruth Greenglass about David having ideas of stealing some things from the Army. They both remembered also David having mentioned casually that in February, shortly after Dr. Klaus Fuchs was arrested on spying charges, he (David) had been questioned by FBI agents. The Rosenbergs suspected that David was in trouble of some sort, but they thought it probably had to do with stealing gasoline or perhaps uranium from Los Alamos.

Mainly because of Ethel's saying, "Julie, we ought to try to help Davey," Julius on his regular trip to the doctor's for hay-fever shots a few nights later asked his doctor if it was possible to give a certificate of having had shots to someone who never had them. The doctor said that would be impossible, and a few days later Julius went to the Greenglasses' apartment and told David what the doctor said. David told Julius to forget it, that he would take care of it himself.

"YOU'LL BE SORRY": During the first week of June, David telephoned Julius at work to say he must talk to him again. On his way to work next morning, Julius stopped off at the Greenglass apartment and then the two men went outside and walked toward East River Drive. During their walk, David again said that he had to have $2,000 in cash and this time he asked Julius to borrow it for him, either from relatives or the business.

Julius again told David it was impossible to get the money. David's face grew livid. He became almost hysterically angry and, with a wild look in his eyes, said:

> "Well, Julie, I've just got to have that money and if you don't get me that money you are going to be sorry."

THE KNOCK ON THE DOOR: Less than two weeks later, on the morning of June 16, 1950, three FBI men knocked at the Rosenbergs' door. They said they wanted to talk to Julius about his brother-in-law, David Greenglass. Julius accompanied them to the Federal Bldg. in Foley Square, and for about three hours they asked him questions about David, pressing him for specific dates about David's visits to New York on furlough during the war.

Through them, Julius learned that David had been arrested the day before and had, in writing, confessed to stealing atomic secrets for the Soviet Union. Then, after they had been asking him questions about David for two hours, one of the FBI men said quietly:

"Dave said you told him to supply information for Russia."

NEXT WEEK: The U.S.A. vs. Julius and Ethel Rosenberg.

•

Follow the story of the Rosenberg Case in the GUARDIAN. Renew NOW if your sub is expiring.

The TWO Juliuses

IN the weeks and months following their arrest, the innocent comings and goings of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg over the past several years were turned into a nightmare of accusation against them.

Even Julius' given name became a damning indictment.

Elizabeth Bentley was brought in to testify that she had received several telephone calls from "someone who called himself Julius."

Harry Gold, a confessed participant in the alleged plot, testified that his password in establishing contact with Greenglass in New Mexico, after first visiting Dr. Klaus Fuchs, was: "I come from Julius."

Neither of these witnesses had ever met nor could identify the Rosenbergs, but the mere repetition of the name "Julius" was enough for the jury, which decided the "Julius" involved was Julius Rosenberg.

At no time during the trial was the following information introduced in evidence—in fact this is the first time it has been brought to light in connection with the Rosenberg Case.

The N.Y. Times of Feb. 4, 1950, reporting the arrest of Fuchs, made this statement a full year before the "Julius" evidence was presented by the government in asking death for Julius Rosenberg:

> **"Dr. Fuchs, who is charged in London with unlawfully disclosing atomic secrets, was known to his friends here as 'Julius.'"**

DR. KLAUS EMIL JULIUS FUCHS
The real Julius?

PEACE BREAKS OUT IN BERLIN'S RUINS
From Berlin — doves; from Munich — balloons

(Continued from Page 1)

very grave doubt that independent Asiatic states like India, Burma, and Indonesia can be persuaded to sign it. What is more our Western allies, Britain and France in particular, are anything but enthusiastic.

The attitude of British Commonwealth nations was described by the Tory Australian daily, **The Age:**

Mr. Dewey . . . has been finding out for himself that the terms of the coming Japanese peace treaty are anything but popular among those who fought the Japanese.

The treaty, in violation of the Potsdam agreement that it be drafted by the Council of Foreign Ministers, was drafted by cartel lawyer John Foster Dulles in private talks with U.S. allies and satellites. **UP** said of his methods, July 13: "When an ally balks, the U.S. apparently does some arm-twisting." The **N.Y. Times** reported Aug. 19:

All Asian nations appear to feel that the tactics of the U.S. and Britain have been somewhat arbitrary in writing and announcing the treaty although not all governments have publicly said so.

MOSCOW CALLED THE SHOTS: Southeast Asian nations and the U.S.'s western allies oppose the treaty because they believe no stable settlement in Asia is possible without the participation of China; fear the revival of Japanese militarism; want Formosa returned to China; object to U.S. trusteeship over the Ryukyu and Bonin Islands, to U.S. military bases and occupation of Japan, to the omission of reparations; fear the revival of a Japanese trade drive.

These objections are in general similar to those voiced by Moscow and Peking. The U.S.S.R., which more than four years ago warned that U.S. policy was aimed toward a separate treaty and rehabilitation of Japan as a Wall St.-controlled anti-communist bulwark, has called Washington's draft a treaty for war aimed against the peoples of Asia. The menace of a U.S.-controlled Japan is not remote. Ten big U.S. corporations invested in or bought out Japanese industries last year. They include Monsanto Chemical, Remington Rand, Goodyear Rubber, Amer. Viscose, Henry J. Kaiser, Calif.-Texas Oil. The **N.Y. Times** recently reported plans for "made in Japan" Remington typewriters to capture dollar-short markets. Kaiser-Frazer autos are already coming off Japanese assembly lines, with the same object in view.

JAPAN-KOREA TANGLE: The State Dept. whipped its Philippine satellite into line with announcement of a U.S.-Philippine defense pact similar to an earlier one drafted with Australia and New Zeland. In a formal note to Moscow, it said it would tolerate no negotiations at the conference, which was only a signing ceremony. But Moscow papers said Vice Foreign Minister Gromyko and his aides would come to fight provisions of the treaty.

The **Wall St. Journal** reported that the Japanese peace and the Korean peace have been tangled together by the State Dept., which thinks Moscow wants a cease-fire on the eve of the conference to bolster its case for inviting China. Said the **Journal:**

The U.S. reaction is to demand more in Korean talks than we expect the Communists ever to concede. Barring a complete cave-in by the Reds, the State Dept. would prefer no cease-fire deal until after the San Francisco Conference ends.

In Korea, truce talks were still snagged over the location of the truce line; meanwhile the war was stepped up by the heaviest U.S. attacks since the talks began. Gen. Van Fleet said his armies "can clobber 'em at any time. I don't know any better way to get it over faster." In Washington eight Republican senators said anything short of a settlement at the Yalu River would be "surrender."

Berlin peace clamor leaves West jittery

THE biggest youth rally in history—the 3rd World Festival of Youth and Students for Peace held in Berlin, Aug. 5-19—threw Western cold warriors into agitation. Some 26,000 youth from 96 countries, plus more than 1,000,000 German youth, took part. Thousands more were prevented from attending by Wester governments which have been lecturing Russia for placing "artificial barriers" between East and West.

Italy stopped all issuance of passports during the festival. Allied authorities arrested delegates who tried to get though Austria. Planes were halted in Brussels. Bonn's Chancellor Adenauer decreed a ten-mile barrier along the West German frontier; his police arrested hundreds every day, but many got through. Several hundred got to the border town of Travemunde, went swimming, strolled along the beach into the East Zone.

"THE FREE LIFE": Western newspapers wrote off all delegates as "reds," clamped the word "peace" firmly within quotation marks. Actually the Chilean delegation, for example, included a Catholic party member, 2 Liberals, 2 Falangists (Center Party), a Radical (government) party member, a People's Socialist, 5 independents and 5 Communists. The Western press said delegates were not getting enough to eat, some starving. But a British delegate told a reporter:

"If nearly half a kilo of meat a day is starvation, then I'm all for it. In Britain we get only 100 grams a day."

Closing of Central Berlin elevated and subway entrances in preparation for Sunday's great parade appeared in the Western press as a frantic effort to keep delegates from seeing the "free life" of West Berlin. But when thousands of delegates tried to parade for peace in West Berlin they were met with fire hoses and police clubs.

The N.Y. **Times'** Kathleen McLaughlin complained of the "showers of anti-Western leaflets." She described them as "tiny squares of paper bearing a sketch of a peace dove."

FRIENDSHIP IN THE RUINS: Dances, songfests, open-air movies, concerts, plays, discussions brought together different cultures, emphasized the "Friendship and Peace" theme. Daily organizational work laid groundwork for continuing the fight for peace. Heroes were the Korean delegates, especially Li Sun Im, a woman captain of the Korean Army. Honored guests were Chile's poet Pablo Neruda and Turkey's Nazim Hikmet, recently freed after 13 years in jail.

In Berlin's shattered streets Chinese, Greenlanders, Koreans, Africans, Indonesians, Americans, New Zealanders mingled. Western leaders, doubtful perhaps that they could ever evoke such enthusiastic response, talked earnestly of improving their anti-Communist propaganda to youth.

For a starter, U.S. High Commissioner McCloy promised East German youths, visiting the U.S.-sponsored RIAS radio, the return of Germany's "lost territories"—territory ceded Russia and Poland by agreement with the Western allies in 1945. No Western official has ever gone so far in lining up U.S. aims with the revisionist demands of anti-Communist and nationalist Germans. Washington columnist Drew Pearson, author of the balloon project to "pierce the Iron Curtain" (see p. 1), visited the festival, found the Russian ballet "good," the music "excellent," the dancing "superb." He wrote:

Headlines in American papers give you the impression that the Berlin youth rally was a flop. It brought 2,000,000 youngsters together from all parts of the world, and it's no use kidding ourselves. . . . In Berlin, Moscow was selling an idea. We were handing out soup and bread. In the rest of Europe Moscow has been selling an idea—we've been handing out Marshall Plan money. Sometimes people fight harder for an idea than for full stomachs.

PROGRESSIVE PARTY

Minn. meets Marc

DESPITE much viewing with alarm and some downright defamation by local press, radio and television, 1,000 Minnesotans met New York's fiery Vito Marcantonio last Saturday night and cheered him to the rafters of Minneapolis's CIO Hall.

The rally—changed from the Labor Temple when the Central Labor Committee got cold feet—climaxed a two-day meeting of the Progressive Party National Committee at the Hotel Andrews, which set up plans for the 1952 Presidential campaign (see p. 2) and launched a nationwide campaign to kill the repressive Smith Act. Nearly 100 committeemen, representatives and observers from 21 states attended the meeting. Their deliberations will be further reported in subsequent issues of the GUARDIAN.

REGIONAL TALKS SET: The Saturday rally was the second big turnout of Minnesota progressives this summer (first was last May in St. Paul for Dr. W. E. B. DuBois). In addition to New York's ALP leader and former Congressman, speakers included former Gov. Elmer Benson of Minnesota, former Cogressman Hugh DeLacey, Vincent Hallinan, attorney for ILWU leader Harry Bridges; and union leaders Marie Reid Haug of Cleveland and Alexander Wright of Pittsburgh.

The National Committee apppproved a comprehensive report by secy. C. B. Baldwin scheduling regional PP conferences in Sept.-Oct. covering New England, Eastern-Middle Atlantic, Southern, Mid-West and Rocky Mountain-West Coast states to prepare for the 1952 campaign.

CLASSIFIED

General

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Middle East: 'Peasants are beginning to understand'

By Tabitha Petran

GEN. Eisenhower told visiting U.S. senators at SHAPE (Atlantic Pact army HQ) this month: "There is no more strategically important area in the world than the Middle East. . . . We should try to bring the Arab world on our side." British officials announced a Middle East Defense Pact in the making, tied to the Atlantic Pact under U.S.-British-French sponsorship. In Washington Asst. Secy. of State for the Middle East McGhee asked Congress for $40,000,000 in arms aid for Israel and the Arab states, declaring

". . . the U.S. can not afford to allow . . . neutralism and anti-western sentiment to gain any further ground."

But the N.Y. **Times'** Albion Ross reported from Jordan that the "Arab problem" is becoming "increasingly nerve-wracking . . . the Arab community . . . increasingly hostile." The Middle East, in Pentagon thinking the "soft underbelly" of the U.S.S.R., is in a revolutionary ferment compounded of poverty, oil-cartel exploitation, weakening feudal governments at the mercy of U.S.-British-French rivalries, and the Western drive to turn it into an anti-Soviet war base.

Poverty and oil

Eighty percent of the Middle East's people cannot read or write; 75% eke out a bare existence by agricultural and animal husbandry. Per capita yearly incomes range from $40 in Saudi Arabia and Yemen to $125 in Turkey and Lebanon; $389 in Israel (UN **Economic Survey of the Middle East**, 1951).

IRAN'S PREMIER MOSSADEGH
Nationalization with tears

The seven trusts making up the world oil cartel—N.J. Standard and Socony Vacuum (Rockefeller), Calif. Standard (Rockefeller, Chicago group), Texas Co. (Rockefeller, Morgan, Chicago group), Gulf Oil (Mellon), Dutch Shell (Dutch, British, Morgan-associated since 1948), and Anglo-Iranian (British)—have stepped up Middle East production 300% since 1945. Largely responsible for this are the U.S. trusts, which raised their share from less than 10% before the war to about 50% today, while the Anglo-Dutch share fell from 55% to about 42%. (Currently, the U.S. is exploiting Iran's nationalization of Anglo-Iranian to move into that once-exclusive British province: Washington last month set up an oil marketing agreement with 19 U.S. companies to allocate world oil and to supply Anglo-Iranian's customers. The British proposal for an Iranian oil company to handle oil extraction and a "joint" refining and marketing company, run by Britain, ran into a snag last week when Iran said it would not agree that Britain should get Iranian oil for resale at a profit. The U.S. reportedly would participate in the "joint" company, if it is ever set up.)

Profits owing to cheap labor and low production costs are huge (e.g. Kuwait produces 660,000 barrels a day, makes $1.28 on every barrel); royalty payments to the Arab countries are small. These payments in 1949, the UN **Survey** found, were 12.9% of Iran's total revenues, 11.5% of Iraq's, 5.1% of Lebanon's; they were 49.3% of Saudi Arabia's in 1948 and 54.6% of Bahrein's in 1946. In the six main producing countries, the oil industry employed 100,000 natives—only 0.34% of their population.

Western rivalries and war-base plans

The corrupt feudal governments are dependent on foreign support, and intensifying U.S.-British-French rivalries continually weaken their "stability." In Syria, formerly a French sphere, British and French interests teamed up last month to bring down the Cabinet of the pro-U.S. Premier Khaled el-Azam. But his successor Hassan Hakim is even more pro-American.

Earlier, French financial interests allied with big Syrian landholders had maneuvered Syria's rejection of Point 4 aid. But the landholders are purchasing modern machinery and technical assistance in the open market, with the result (the N.Y. **Times** reported) that

". . . the gap between the wealth of 60 to 100 families and the rest of the nation is increasing at an astounding rate. . . . The reaction . . . has been the appearance of the only serious agrarian revolutionary movement in the Arab world.

Canard Enchaine, Paris
"Hot diggety! It's ours!"

With pro-U.S. governments in power in Turkey, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia and Israel (elections this month found Premier Ben-Gurion's Mapai party still the largest, but encountering difficulties in forming a coalition), Britain now wields decisive influence only in Iraq and Jordan. Israel's government was readying a law to give oil concessions to U.S. companies, cancel concessions granted British companies.

Assassinations in the Middle East, of which Jordan King Abdullah's was the latest, reflect the mounting intensity of imperialist rivalries.

EGYPT GETS TOUGH: Anglo-U.S. efforts to make the Middle East a war base are further deepening the people's impoverishment. Egypt has been demanding since the war that Britain remove its troops from the Suez Canal area; this month Foreign Minister Aalah Eddin threatened to cancel the 1936 Anglo-Egyptian treaty. Demands in parliament for a non-aggression pact with the Soviet Union—to spike Britain's argument that its troops are needed to "protect" Egypt—have been greeted with cheers. Cairo's pro-government paper **Al Misri** renewed the proposal recently. Egypt now has good trade relations with the socialist world, exchanging cotton for Czech munitions and discussing a cotton-wheat exchange with the U.S.S.R.

On the Middle East's attitude toward Western war bases, the N.Y. **Times** found in a July 28 report:

". . . vigorous agitation for abrogation of Iraq's treaty of alliance with Britain, under which Britain maintains two air bases in Iraq and would be guaranteed use of Iraq's facilities in time of war. [In Morocco,] the independence movement agitates incessantly for the French to get out and against the establishment of a network of air bases. [In Libya,] most of the population shouts for the elimination of the great American air base outside Tripoli. [In Tunis,] riots and demonstrations and constant clamor by nationalists for the French to get out, supported by the Arab League and North African Committees in Cairo.

In Syria, Overseas News Agency reported "high political levels" urging a pact with Moscow.

TURBULENT DAWN: A year ago the UN Social Welfare Congress of Arab States, meeting in Lebanon, was warned to expect a revolution unless radical changes were made in the Arab world. The warning came from Said Hemadeh, professor of economics at the American University of Beirut. He said:

"The Arab peasants are becoming less fatalistic and are beginning to understand the causes of their difficulties. Their dissatisfaction and desire to be freed from poverty and serfdom are shown by joining of parties designed to bring about substantial changes in the social system. If their problems are not solved, the germs of revolution will grow and multiply and the explosion will take place as it did in France, Russia and other countries with heavy losses to life and property."

The N.Y. **Times** said Prof. Hemadeh's report was shelved "through the desire of the organizers of the meeting to avoid issues on the fundamental structure of Middle East society." But the crisis has since sharpened. In 1949 announcement of the Soviet A-bomb brought the first ruling-class shift toward neutrality and against their Western patrons. Events since then in Korea and Iran have had a deep impact. Wilton Wynn (**ONA**) reported from Beirut July 23:

From Egypt to Iran, there is a general wave of optimistic belief that the Soviet Union will never launch an aggressive war. . . . The widespread feeling here is that if Russia ever were going to launch a general war, it would have happened sometime during the past year. But instead of attacking, Russia climaxes the 'Korean year' with the Malik peace overture.

Russia's hands-off attitude during the Iranian crisis also has made a powerful impression in the Near East. With a turbulent situation on her very borders, the Soviets have remained overtly indifferent, while British and Americans travel thousands of miles to plead and threaten. Britain's intransigence in Iran contrasts strongly with Russia's acquiescence in the Iranian Majlis' cancellation of the Soviet-Iran oil concession in 1947.

THE LAW

Bail sources ordered to be nursemaids

THE last of 17 Communist Party leaders arrested in New York City on June 20 under the Smith Act was finally bailed out last week, after spending 43 days in a cell since the government outlawed the Civil Rights Congress Bail Fund. But his wife and two others were grilled for 2½ hours on the source of the $10,000 which she borrowed from five persons, including two who responded to an editorial appeal in the N.Y. **Daily Compass** to protect the basic right of bail. He was Arnold Johnson. A day earlier Isidore Begun was also released on $10,000 bail, but his wife was examined for 2½ days.

But as the last of the New York 17 got out of jail, six more Communist leaders in Pittsburgh went in. They were seized in the FBI's fourth roundup; one was arrested in New York City. Two were locked up just as they were making their own summations after a long trial under a 1919 sedition law; CP attorneys charged that the arrests were timed to prejudice the jury. Bail of $100,000 was ordered for most of the six.

In Baltimore three of six Smith Act victims there had their bail reduced from $75,000 each. That for Maurice Braverman, an attorney not charged with Communist membership, was cut to $5,000; for two others, $20,000. Mrs. Dorothy Rose Blumberg, one of the six, who was arrested in New York, was returned to Baltimore in custody of a marshall because she couldn't raise $20,000 bail.

L.A. JAIL PICKETED: In California, where 12 are held under the Smith Act, an appeal for bail reduction was filed for ten of them with the Ninth U.S. Circuit Court. Bail had been cut once from $75,000 to $25,000 each for two women, $50,000 each for eight men, but attorneys contended it was still excessive. An eleventh man was on his way to California from New York; reduction of bail for the twelfth was to be taken up later.

The California 12 won one victory: the Circuit Court of Appeals ordered Federal Judge James Carter to withdraw from the case or show cause by Aug. 20 why he should not be disqualified. The defendants documented charges of bias and prejudice against him. During the week some 500 persons picketed the Los Angeles County jail in behalf of the defendants, then paraded through the city's downtown section. A week-end picket line numbered 750.

CRC HEAD OBDURATE: Although the New York State Banking Dept. had the records and contributors' lists of the CRC Bail Fund, the CRC itself—a separate entity—was still being hounded. A grand jury ordered its head, William L. Patterson, to produce a list of the organization's contributors, but he said he would refuse "no matter what the consequences":

"I will not reveal the names of any Americans who might be victimized by federal and state governments or the FBI."

Patterson is facing a second trial in October for contempt of Congress for a similar refusal. The government took another crack at the CRC from another angle: it slapped a tax lien of $1,764.19 against it, ordered $376,000 worth of its bail bonds held in escrow.

JUDGE SLAPS GOVT.: The government had a setback of its own. Federal Judge Edward Wienfeld in New York rebuked the Justice Dept. for its impossible standards of bail acceptance in the cases of 39 foreign-born who were re-arrested when the CRC Bail Fund was outlawed. He ordered release of Manuel Tarazona, one of the 39, on a $4,000 bond which had twice been rejected. The judge called the rejections an "abuse of discretion" and an "invasion of a man's rights":

"There was hardly a semblance of an excuse for refusing to accept the bonds."

The government may appeal the ruling, but it will not affect Tarazona's release. Still pending before the same judge is the case of Alexander Bittelman, bail for whom was twice rejected because those offering it belong to organizations listed as "subversive."

Another of the 39, Ferdinand Smith, until 1948 a vice-president and secy. of the Natl. Maritime Union, was released when he elected to leave the country voluntarily; he flew to England at his own expense.

THE 5-WAY TEST: But Judge Gregory F. Noonan refused to release Peter Harisiades on $5,000 bail; his lawyer plans to ask a Supreme Court Justice to order bail. Harisiades faces almost certain death if deported to Greece; his case will be argued before the Supreme Court in the fall.

For the first time the Justice Dept. revealed the new requirements for bail in the case of foreign-born charged with "subversive" activities or affiliations; those offering bail must

- Be well acquainted with the defendant.
- "Freely" reveal the source of the bond and have actual title to it.
- Live near enough to the defendant to watch his whereabouts.
- Be a "sufficiently responsible person" to exercise a measure of control over the alien concerned.
- If the defendant is a Communist—not be members of the CP or any organization on the subversive list.

Nine of the 39 were still on Ellis Island at the end of the week.

DEVIL'S ISLAND WANTED: In Harrisburg, Pa., State Commdr. James J. Davis of the Veterans of Foreign Wars was inspired by the government's Smith Act drive. He asked Atty. Gen. McGrath to order a "sweeping roundup" in Pennsylvania, urged high bail, a quick trial and prompt sentencing:

"The long terms they should be given should be served, preferably, on a penal colony island which we have seriously suggested be established in the tropic Pacific, where they will have ample time and opportunity to contemplate their treacherousness."

INSIDE NORTH KOREA: THE SUMMING-UP

'End war and occupation -- or lose the last vestige of civilization'

By Ida Bachmann

(Last of five articles by Miss Bachmann, Danish librarian and World War II OWI official in the U. S., on her visit to North Korea with an international women's delegation.)

KOLDING, DENMARK

IT HAS been suggested that what we saw in North Korea was the end of civilization. It is, indeed, the end of our business civilization which has caused the death of 3,000,000 civilians in one year and untold misery for more millions.

Yet the Koreans who have survived the cruelties have preserved their civilization even in their present abasement. As for ourselves, in the long run our loss may be greater than any: for if we go on tolerating wars and occupation we will have lost not only the vestiges of civilization but also the humaneness that makes life precious—our own as well as that of others.

THE KOREANS' FAITH: To us from the Western world, where suspicion is the usual atmosphere, the Korean faith in other people's integrity was surprising. Not once were we even asked to withhold the name or locality of the very charming spot where a somewhat safe living place had been arranged for us. On one of our last evenings the Prime Minister, Kim Il Sung, held a reception for us. I never got there because our jeep broke down (they held up the reception two hours, waiting for us), but the other delegates said no precaution had been taken to prevent them noticing where the government center was located.

It was simply beyond the Koreans' imagination that any of us should misuse their good faith in us by revealing what would be "top secret" in most other countries in such a war. They were right because we had come in the name of peace. It was in our own countries that we were met by suspicion on our return—and just because we spoke for peace and had seen what no one was supposed to see.

PRESS CONFERENCE IN NORTH KOREA
Speaking (l.), the delegate from Czechoslovakia. At table: Ida Bachmann (Denmark), Nora Rodd (Canada), Pak Den Ai (chairman, Korean Women's Assn.), Mrs. Monica Felton (Britain), Gilette Ziegler (France).

A NATION UNITED: According to the people we spoke to in various parts of North Korea, the Koreans, north and south, are one nation fighting side by side—with the exception of the handful of persons who surround Syngman Rhee. I might have accepted this as a mere expression of patriotic enthusiasm had it not been for the reports from American sources on the steady growth of the Partisan Army of South Korea and the strange "dwindling" of Rhee troops who got into contact with the northern People's Army. (This will perhaps explain why the Army is well equipped with American weapons).

What our delegation saw and gathered as first-hand information was written down carefully with names of places and people so that all of it can be tested. It is not a pleasant document to read; it was even more unpleasant to write. Those who are most directly responsible for the war in Korea will be most likely to deny the facts it contains. The destruction, the misery and the cruelties of which we saw undeniable evidence were far beyond anything we could have imagined without going there. We felt compelled to state that the war waged in the name of the United Nations has been waged in contradiction with international rules of warfare.

BOMBS & FLOWERS: When we had written our report, the time for departure had come. Friendships had been made, and it is not easy to leave friends behind in a country whose population is in process of being exterminated. Every day now when I read that Pyongyang has been bombed* I wonder about the little girl Tong Young Hee who lives there in a hole in the ground "with some friends, for my mother was killed and my brother is at the front." She kept watch over me when I slept, took me to the air-raid cave in the rocks when necessary, washed my clothes after the long and dusty drives, picked fresh flowers for my room, taught me long, difficult Korean words. And I think of Che Den Suk, North Korea's Minister of Education, whom I asked one evening: "What did you do before the liberation from Japan?"

"I was a soldier in the People's Army," she said, as if that was the most natural thing in the world for a woman with two sons. And in the same matter-of-fact way she added: "For ten years." Yet she has preserved the gentleness that is typical for people in Korea.

BACK TO CHINA: Our American jeep took us back over the mountains, through the destroyed towns and villages on the narrow, crowded, war-scarred road to the Chinese border. I clutched a package of Korean phonograph records, a precious farewell gift.

In the middle of the second night we reached Sinuiju and were sculled across the Yalu River in open boats, back to China. Reveille was blown as we drove through Antung, and street sellers came walking along briskly with their pushcarts laden with delectable fresh vegetables arranged in many-colored patterns.

We thought we had come away from the wilderness of war—but section after section of Antung looked like the Korean cities. Antung, China, had been attacked 40 times during our two-week visit in Korea, and air alarms followed our train on its way to Mukden.

In this capital of North-Eastern China two or three thousand people had turned out to greet us at five a.m., some of them dressed in fantastic embroidered silk costumes. The whole railroad station had been transformed into a festival hall. There were gaily-colored silk flags, music—particularly

(Continued on Page 7)

* Pyongyang was a scene of flame and explosions as waves of Superforts swept in over the target. . . . United Nations fliers worked in mid-afternoon and for the first time this week many were able to observe the results of their attacks on Pyongyang, which they called excellent. What they could not get with 500-pound bombs they leveled with Napalm and raked with machine-guns.—N. Y. Times war report, August 15.

American POW's in Korea

Pressure on space makes it necessary for us to skip a week in publication of the latest list of POW's. More next week.

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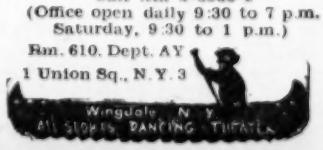

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(Continued from page 6)

drums—speeches in many languages.

THE TREASURE OF PEACE: As we flew around one-third of the globe, over Lake Baikal with its snow-capped mountains behind, over the enormous Yenisei, Ob, Volga rivers, the industrial cities, the wealth of forests and pastures and fields, the earth below us looked as though a strong, gentle hand had stroked its face and smoothed it for the good things to grow. How beautiful the world could be without war! I remembered one of the few Russian words I had learned on this trip: MIR, which means both WORLD and PEACE.

I also remembered America, its mountains and rivers and wide, fertile plains—and the Americans, deserving a better fate than to destroy and be destroyed by aimless wars in distant lands.

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WOMEN'S DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION CHARGES:

U.S. surpassed Hitler in Korea

The full report in English of the Women's Intl. Democratic Fedn. Commission's Report on Korea (obtainable from Imported Pub. & Prod., 22 E. 17th St., N.Y.C. 3, 10c) documents charges that "American occupants" are subjecting the Koreans to "a merciless and methodical campaign of extermination, in contradiction not only with the principles of humanity but [with] the Hague and Geneva Conventions." It concludes:

This is being done in the following ways:

a) By the systematic destruction of food, food stores and food factories. Forests and ripe harvests are systematically burned by incendiary bombs, fruit trees are destroyed and peasants working in their fields with their animals are killed by machine-gun fire from low-flying planes.

b) By the systematic destruction of town after town, of village after village, many of which by no stretch of imagination could be considered to be military objectives or even industrial centres. The aim of this systematic destruction is clearly, in the first place, to break the morale of the Korean population and, secondly, to wear them out physically. In these never-ceasing raids, dwellings, hospitals, schools, etc., are destroyed deliberately.

c) By systematically employing against the peaceful inhabitants weapons banned by international convention, i.e., incendiaries, petrol bombs, napalm bombs, time bombs, and by constantly machine-gunning civilians from low-flying planes.

d) By atrociously exterminating the Korean population. In the districts temporarily occupied by American and Syngman Rhee forces, in the period of occupation, hundreds of thousands of civilians, entire families from old men to little children, have been tortured, beaten to death, burned and buried alive. Thousands of others have perished from hunger and cold in overcrowded prisons in which they were thrown without charges being levelled against them, without investigation, trial or sentence.

These mass tortures and mass murders surpass the crimes committed by Hitler Nazis in occupied Europe.

Evidence given by all civilians questioned points to the fact that nearly all these crimes were either perpetrated by U.S. soldiers and officers or else on the order of U.S. officers. Therefore the full responsibility for these atrocities falls on the U.S. Supreme Command in Korea, i.e., Gen. MacArthur, Gen. Ridgway and other commanders of the invading forces who call themselves the Forces of the UN. Although these atrocities have been performed under the command of generals in the field, the full responsibility for them must also rest with the governments who sent their troops to Korea and whose representatives at the UN gave their votes in favor of the war in Korea.

The Commission expresses its belief that those responsible for the crimes committed against the Korean people must be charged as war criminals as defined by the Allied Declaration of 1943 and must be brought to trial by the peoples of the world, as was defined by the same Declaration.

The Commission calls on all the peoples of the world in the name of common humanity to urge by every means in their power that the war in Korea be brought to an end without delay and that the invading foreign troops be immediately withdrawn.

. . . The Commission urgently asks the Women's Intl. Democratic Fedn. to forward [this] report to the United Nations Organization.

(Signed)

Nora K. Rodd (Canada, chairman of the Commission); **Liu Chin-yang** (China), **Ida Bachmann** (Denmark) (vice-chairmen); **Miluse Svatosova** (Czechoslovakia), **Trees Soenito Heyligers** (Netherlands), **Monica Felton** (England), **Maria Ovsyannikova** (U.S.S.R.), **Bai Lang** (China), **Li K'eng** (China), **Gilette Ziegler** (France), **Elisabetta Gallo** (Italy), **Eva Priester** (Austria), **Germaine Hannevard** (Belgium), **Hilde Cahn** (German Dem. Republic), **Lilly Waechter** (West Germany), **Li thi Que** (Viet Nam), **Candelaria Rodriguez** (Cuba), **Leonor Aguiar Vazquez** (Argentina), **Fatma ben Sliman** (Tunisia), **Abassia Fodil** (Algeria).

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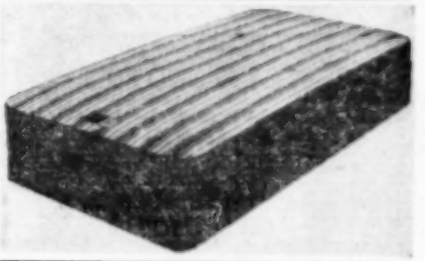

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The old man died

Unless we are to believe in the progressive degradation of the American nation, we are bound to believe that Hearst's fate is ostracism by decency in life and oblivion in death.
—Historian Charles A. Beard (in the 30's)

By Cedric Belfrage

THERE is no doubt that oblivion is Hearst's ultimate destiny in the pages of American history. But that will be when America becomes America again, instead of the "I Am An American" burlesque show that Hearst did so much to make it. The measure of America today is given by the New York **Times'** coy tribute to Hearst as "a landmark in American journalism" who "had his sensitive side" and learned to know "the value of things as they are"; Gen. Bradley called him "one of the greatest Americans this country has ever known," and Hoover, MacArthur, Baruch, McCormick of the Chicago **Tribune,** Judge Harold Medina, Spellman, etc., lined up to attribute to him all the virtues he so conspicuously lacked.

Meanwhile oblivion is in this day the fate of historians like Beard himself, who toiled to set the record straight about the cutthroat founders of America's monopolistic dynasties. The new line on American history was laid down (and gratefully accepted all the way up to the N.Y. **Times**) by Columbia's Prof. Allan Nevins this month, who—displaying all the intellectual prowess of a professor in a Marion Davies movie—told a historians' gathering at Stanford University they must get away from the "feminine idealism" that depicted robber barons as robber barons, and start portraying the Rockefellers and Morgans as "heroes."

IN the face of Prof. Nevins' exhortation, our "feminine idealism" with regard to robber-baron Hearst will not down. He it was who more than any other man of his time raised total depravity and total hypocrisy on to a pedestal, to be publicly worshipped as a golden calf.

No American, not even Harry Truman, has done more than Hearst to place humanity under the shadow of a war which might reduce all who survive it to the cave-man stature he exemplified in his own person. The method by which this was achieved was repetition of the brazen lie, the cult of the cheesecake brain, the day-in-day-out appeal to all that is most base in human nature: the same method used by the gangster leaders of Hitler's Third Reich who, until the very eve of their six-year global blood-bath, contributed regularly to the Hearst papers.

TO this evil old man with a psychosis about death—physically and mentally a noisome distortion of a human being—death "as it must to all men" finally came. But unlike the case of the old man in the song, the clock did not stop.

Newspapermen who once laughed off Hearst as an egomaniac whose antics only served to show the "freedom" of our press even for psychopaths, do not find it so funny now; for they have seen the evil he developed spread throughout their once-proud profession. Today the whole "Voice of America" is based on the big lie Hearst worked so hard to build: the lie that the socialist world (where the press, controlled by people's organizations, exercises the decent restraint its responsibilities demand) is poised to attack and physically exterminate the "free world" (where a handful of feudal press lords enjoy freedom to be totally irresponsible).

Why tell the truth when there is more money in lies? As the **Wall St. Journal** put it on Jan. 20, 1925:

A newspaper is a private enterprise, owing nothing whatever to the public which grants it no franchise.

UP to less than a decade ago Hearst's scares and "campaigns" almost invariably flopped: public sentiment about what he represented was such that few Americans dared publicly praise him. All this changed under the impact of the official hate campaign against the new winds blowing over the earth, following World War II in which Hearst had already sowed the seeds of hatred for our allies. By 1946 the N.Y. **Times** was publishing fake photographs in the Hearst style. By 1947 the decently conservative policy of the N.Y. **Herald Tribune** gave way, and this month it was lauding the proposal that Communists be hanged. The **Wall St. Journal** —reactionary but sane in opposing Truman's catastrophic war program—held out longer but has finally fallen in line, calling this madness "necessary."

Hate, with its brother the lie, spread as a "principle" for journalism from America to vassal Europe: even the once-liberal **Manchester Guardian** now whoops for war, and the editor of France's **Le Monde,** which stuck out for "neutralism" between West and East, has been fired.

TODAY Hearst's standards are the standards not only of the American press, but of "America." The final Hearstian triumph came last week when the U.S. rejected the UN treaty on freedom of information because "Asian and Near Eastern governments" insist on the right to suppress material inflaming sentiment for war or racial or religious hatred.

Looking, as newspapermen still proud of our craft, at the picture to which Hearst has so generously contributed, we can only say: Thank God for the "Asian and Near Eastern governments."

Looking toward our wonderful GUARDIAN readers spread throughout America, from the office where for three years we have been doing the "impossible"—publishing an opposition paper based on principle and truth—we take the opportunity to throw the Hearst concept of journalism, expressed in 1925 by the **Wall St. Journal,** back in the teeth of the **Journal** and of all Hearst's heirs and assigns whatsoever.

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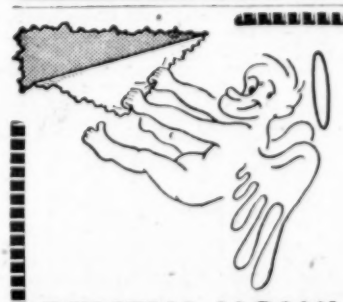

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